

# Some Questions On Non-aligned Conference at Colombo

The fifth Non-aligned Conference ended on August 20 last at Colombo after a four-day Summit Session. Ever since the first non-aligned conference in September, 1961 at Belgrade with 25 participating countries, the members rose to 47 at Cairo in 1964 and this time to 85 at Colombo. Some significant changes in the international political situation took place between the fourth summit conference of the non-aligned countries in Algiers in August 1973 and the fifth one which recently concluded in Colombo. Various liberation struggles to which the fourth summit pledged its support attained glorious victory, leading to the cornering of the imperialist forces to a great extent and thereby consolidating the forces of peace and socialism throughout the world. The heroic peoples of Indo-China liberated their respective countries, like Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia after a tortuous and protracted liberation struggle against the US imperialists. The independence struggle of the people of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Saotoure, Principe and Cape Verde have attained victories bringing an end to Portuguese Colonialism. All these countries joined in the fifth non-aligned conference. Excepting Japan, Iran, Thailand and Pakistan amongst the capitalist countries and the People's Republic of China—all other sovereign Asian and African countries joined. The significant thing is the joining of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—the three Indo-China States as also the presence of Rumania from the socialist bloc as observer member. The inclusion of Portugal and Philippines and exclusion of Pakistan do not stand to logic, if there be any, on the criterion of association with military bloc.

Clash of interest between the participating members on regional questions was indeed, a great dilemma and a good deal of tight rope walking was resorted to in avoiding such regional and sub-regional interests getting prominence to the discomfiture of the delinquent members. The finalisation of draft for the political and economic declarations was also no easy task. It is reported in the Times of India, dated 19th August '76, "The main drafting committees were unable to finalise their drafts of the political and economic declarations. It was, therefore, decided that the Chairman of the foreign Ministers' conference, Mr. Felix Bandaranaike would have the discretion to give final directives on some of the contentious issues which could not be solved at the committee level."

"One such contentious issue, for example, is East Timor. Indonesia sharply opposed a Mozambique

amendment to the draft political declaration to include Timor on the list of colonies. In another case, Singapore resented a Laos amendment which referred to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia victories as examples of revolutionary movements against neo-colonialism in South-east Asia to achieve genuine independence. Singapore reportedly wondered which countries in the region were not genuinely independent. Another amendment by Laos on the need to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace was opposed by some

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## COUNTRY RECALLS THE GREAT TEACHINGS OF COM. SHIBDAS GHOSH

[In our issue dated 1st October we published under this heading the news of Memorial meetings to pay homage to our great departed leader, teacher, Guide, Founder General Secretary and an eminent Marxist thinker of this era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh held at Delhi and Haryana. In this issue, we are publishing the news of Memorial Meetings held at Gauhati, Patna and Cuttack. News of Memorial Meetings held throughout the country are pouring in. We shall try to continue to cover these in our subsequent issues.—Ed. Proletarian Era]

# Proletarian Era

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Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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## Comrades Sudhindra Kr. Pramanik and Pritish Chanda elected President and General Secretary of UTUC (Lenin Sarani)

A Joint meeting of the All India Working Committee and the General Council of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) held on 10.10.76 at Calcutta, was presided over by Comrade A.K. Pandey, vice-president of UTUC (Lenin Sarani). At the outset Comrade Sudhindra Kumar Pramanik, the General Secretary, moved a resolution paying glowing tribute to the great departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, a great leader of the working class in India, one of the founder architects of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and esteemed president of the organisation. The contribution of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in providing guidance to the trade union movement and to free it from all sorts of opportunism, economism, revisionism and to put it on correct revolutionary line, as also his contributions to develop democratic movement in general and working class movement in particular on a correct line were also remembered with due respect while paying the homage. (Contd. to Page 8)



Comrade Sudhindra Kumar Pramanik President UTUC (Lenin Sarani) addressing the meeting of the joint body of Working Committee and Council. On his left Comrade Pritish Chanda General Secretary. On his right Comrade Fatik Ghosh.

### ASSAM

The Central memorial meeting of Assam state was held at Nabin Bardoloi Hall, Gauhati, on 20th September, '76 last. Apart from party workers, supporters, sympathisers and large number of people from different walks of life of Assam, a good number of representative,

of toiling masses of neighbouring state of Meghalaya also thronged the Hall to pay their heart-felt respect to the departed beloved leader, teacher and the guide. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Party was present as the main speaker.

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# WHY S U C I

## —The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

Our beloved leader, teacher, founder General Secretary of the party and an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh delivered a historic speech in a meeting of party workers, supporters and sympathisers at Jalpaiguri, West Bengal on 18th March 1969. The points of discussion made by him in that meeting, form, in fact, the very basis of the present article. Before it first came in print in the November Revolution Special Issue of Ganadabi in 1970, the Bengali Organ of our party, he made certain addition of facts and incidents that took place later on. It may be noted in this connection that when Comrade Ghosh delivered this speech, the CPI (ML) did not appear as a party and the sharp group rivalries inside CPI (M) that later on led to the formation of CPI (ML), did not come to the surface, although indications were there. This article then came out in book form in Bengali under the same caption, "KANO BHARAT BARSHER MATITEY S. U. C. EKMATRA SAMYABADI DAL" (Why S.U.C.I. Is The Only Genuine Communist Party On Indian Soil) in 1971.

Since the Bengali book ran through reprints it has been translated in Hindi and Oriya but its English rendering has been a long-felt need. Requests have been coming for its translation in English, from all corners of the country which we could not fulfil so long.

We note with profound grief that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the beloved leader, teacher and the guide is no more with us. He departed from us on 5th of August '76. But we firmly believe that he is and shall ever remain very much with us through his immortal teachings which will pave the way for Indian revolution to successful culmination.

We are sure that this English translation will serve a great purpose to that end. Despite all precautions during translation some errors and inadequacies of expression might be there for which we alone will be held responsible.

(Editorial Board, Proletarian Era)

You have requested me to discuss the question as to why, despite the existence of two Communist Parties in our country, we are struggling so hard to build up and are calling upon you to support and strengthen SUCI. Such a question is quite natural. But the number of communist parties is no longer two. Reports are there about the attempts for making a third one. Originally there was but only one party named Communist Party of India. In 1964 this party split into two—the CPI and the CPI(M). Very recently some leaders and workers, known as Naxalites, have come out of the CPI(M) and are trying to build up a new party. Thus, the original Communist Party of India is now virtually divided into three. So, in my opinion the question will be correctly placed if it is posed thus: why instead of supporting any one of the three fractions of the old Communist Party we are calling upon you to support and strengthen the SUCI.

**To a Communist determination of the nature of mistakes should be the prime consideration**

At the outset, I want to make one point clear. It is not correct to say that we have built up SUCI simply because the Communist Party of India has committed innumerable mistakes. For, it is wrong to think that a communist party can never commit any mistake; nor do we hold that any mistake if committed, immediately warrants the formation of a new party. No real Marxist thinks in this way. Because only the do-nothings commit no mistake. But a Marxist should know that a party that conducts a most complex, tortuous and prolonged struggle for the emancipation of the working class, may, of course, and sometimes do commit mistake. He should know



Comrade Shibdas Ghosh addressing the party workers, supporters and sympathisers at Jalpaiguri, West Bengal on 18th March 1969.

also at the same time that a party can commit two types of mistakes. One stems from the utter failure to grasp the correct Marxist outlook, method of analysis and method of application which results in the failure to correctly apply the fundamental principles of Marxism, not only in the economic and political fields but also in every sphere of life and because of this, consequent failure in determining the stage of a particular revolution—its strategy and tactics. It should be borne in mind that with this kind of mistake is inseparably related the class character of a party.

The second type of mistake occurs when a party in spite of acquiring essentially correct Marxist outlook, method of analysis and method of application fails to correctly analyse a particular situation and correctly apply the fundamental principles of Marxism in a given condition, due to lack of adequate knowledge, experience and wisdom. Such a type of mistake committed by a party does not at once *ipso facto* mean a change in its class character. Of course, if the party continues to commit such type of mistakes one after another and fails eventually to rectify itself drawing appropriate lessons from the mistakes then slowly but surely the class character of the party is bound to change one day. But the question of the class character of a party is directly and inseparably linked up with the first type of mistake, that is, failure to acquire correct Marxist outlook, method of analysis and method of application. But a party proclaiming itself to be Marxist-Leninist and having Marxist-Leninist vocabularies but failing to acquire the correct Marxist outlook, method of analysis and method of application in different spheres, even waving the red banner of Marxism-Leninism and Communism, reflects in reality, knowingly or unknowingly, some other class outlook, method of analysis and method of application. To a Marxist, therefore, mere admission of mistakes is not enough—what is of prime consideration is to determine the nature of such mistakes. Therefore, as it is not correct to think that a party that has developed as a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party or in other words as a revolutionary working class party, can never commit a mistake, so also in my opinion no Marxist has the moral right to build up a new party simply because the old party has committed numerous mistakes. So, it is obvious that we have not built up SUCI simply because the Communist Party of India, committed innumerable mistakes in the past and is still committing mistakes. I have my personal knowledge about the dedication, honesty and self-sacrifice of many among the founders, leaders and innumerable cadres that were behind the formation of the party called "Communist" and I do respect all of them deeply. I cannot at the same time, disregard the fact in any way that despite their dedication and sacrifice, because of the failure to follow the correct and scientific process of formation of a communist party

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## ALLEGIANCE TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP DOES NOT MEAN BLIND OBEDIENCE

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they failed to develop it into a genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the working class.

### Allegiance to International Communist Leadership does not mean blind obedience

To start with, if you analyse the nature, of the relationship of this party with the international communist leadership and its conduct in this respect, you will find that since its inception till now, this party has failed to play its due role in discharging the correct and conscious responsibility, from the Marxist standpoint—in the international communist movement as the vanguard of Indian proletariat. Rather, it has blindly copied the International Communist Leadership all through. And as a result of this practice of copying blindly, it has not only failed to ever develop a correct communist movement inside the country but has also failed, and very miserably failed, to contribute its due share in the development of International Communist Leadership which grows and develops through ideological struggle, i.e. through conflict and interactions of ideas and experiences between the communist parties of different countries. Rather, due to this practice of blind copying, they have actually weakened the international communist leadership. If allegiance to International Communist Leadership means blind obedience then it is never desirable. I firmly hold that obligation to communist leadership never, under no circumstances, means blind obedience to it; rather it always means a dialectical relationship among the communist parties based on the principle of "unity-struggle-unity" with the common object of revolution—emancipation and social progress. This relationship is governed by the principle of non-antagonistic contradiction i.e. the principles of struggle and unity at the same time. And when this dialectical relationship between the International Communist Leadership and different communist parties takes a living form in practice, then and then only it can open up the possibility of continuous intellectual enrichment and development of ideological standard of the international communist leadership which not only benefits the international leadership but through mutual exchange of experiences will also benefit the communist parties in conducting the communist movement correctly in their respective countries. And this becomes possible when the nature of contradiction between them is non-antagonistic or in other words mutually conducive to each other in the background of the struggle against common enemy i.e. world imperialism-capitalism. In course of such common struggle of different communist parties guided by this very principle of "unity-struggle-unity" some serious differences are bound to crop up. But one thing we should always bear in our mind. The differences that may crop up between the different communist parties or between them and the international leadership often appear as antagonistic in nature, if they are viewed in isolation, as separate elements of contradiction but judged in the greater perspective of accepted fundamental principles of the International Communist Movement, this antagonistic contradiction, at once, becomes non-antagonistic in nature. That is why in this common fight against imperialism-capitalism, it becomes the bounden duty and responsibility for all the communist parties to maintain cohesion and solidarity of the Socialist Camp for united actions against the common enemy even when they are engaged in intense ideological struggle amongst themselves.

If this process of unity and struggle that is to say, maintaining firm unity and solidarity against the common enemy imperialism-capitalism, continuing at the same time the uncompromising struggle in the ideological field is correctly followed then it will not only help the revolutionary movements in different countries to grow invincible but will also, through this process of conflict and interaction of ideas, enrich the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism with newer and newer experiences. Thus, it is only through correct application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in concrete conditions and thereby continuously elaborating, concretising, developing and enriching its revolutionary theories and Marxism itself that revolution can be really organised and made victorious in different countries. That is why you will find that Lenin, or Mao Tse-tung, whoever shouldered the responsibility of organising and leading successful revolution in their respective countries had to contribute something new to the treasure-house of Marxism—without which revolution

cannot succeed in any country. To suggest that the Indian revolution will follow either the Chinese or the Russian path, in my opinion may at best mean that they provide an indicative line and nothing more. To go an inch further means sinking into blindness—and the more the blindness, the more the fanaticism and that is what we witness at present.

### Failure of the so-called Communist Parties of India to establish dialectical relationship with International Leadership

Let us go back to our old discussion. In its relation with the International Communist Leadership the so-called Communist Party in our country, now virtually split into three, never followed this correct Marxist method of dialectical relationship, in practice. On the plea that CPSU was the leading Party, the undivided CPI, from its very inception blindly toed the Soviet line. After the Sino-Soviet rift, this party being split into two, divided their allegiance—one fraction to the Soviet and the other to the Chinese Leadership (it is immaterial here which of the lines—Soviet, or the Chinese was correct) but nonetheless both of them followed the two international authorities blindly. You can easily understand the correctness of our analysis if you carefully examine the theories of these Parties. Owing to combination of various circumstances, official recognition either from CPSU or from CPC is eluding the CPI(M) at present. For, after the Naxalite leaders and cadres came out of CPI(M), it is no longer being recognised as a Communist Party by CPC. So far as CPI is concerned, it never got CPC's recognition. And CPI is already officially recognised by the CPSU. And so long CPI is officially recognised, the CPI(M) cannot get the recognition at the same time from the CPSU. Though, of course, from the talks of CPI(M)'s leaders with Kosygin, particularly during his recent visit to Delhi, from Soviet invitation to Mr. Ranadive, from the reports of Kosygin's move to this end—from all these it seems that CPSU, of late, is developing a soft corner for the CPI(M). But the trouble is that at the time of formation of their Party, the leaders of CPI(M) so patterned the rank and file with anti-Soviet hysteria that even if they wish, they cannot go to the Soviet side overnight. So, although outwardly it may appear that the CPI(M) leadership is continuing its old line but in reality it is backing out slowly, surreptitiously and in a subtle way—so subtle that unless a worker acquires the high standard of critical examination of theories, it is impossible for him to detect this change. So even while continuing to mouth 'revolutionary slogans' as before against the revisionist Dangeite clique, this party has been shifting its position in a very subtle way so much so that it is practically impossible for the workers or supporters of CPI(M) today, in view of the low standard of political consciousness, to detect this fact that under the cover of these so-called revolutionary verbiage, the Party has slipped into a typically revisionist Party. If you observe a bit more carefully, you will find that this party is now making utmost endeavour to establish friendly relations with those Communist Parties in Europe who are not only not supporters of the CPC but are strongly opposed to it. On the one hand it is proclaiming that it is fighting revisionism while on the other, it has developed cordial relation with an extreme right-revisionist party like the Rumanian Communist Party which considers any fraternal international communist relationship and acceptance of an international general fundamental line as submitting to interference in its internal affair, is opposed to the principle of forming any international centre of leadership, is suffering from the concept of ultra-independence and therefore is more revisionist in its stand than the CPSU. No wonder that these two parties will develop mutual admiration! Placed in a position where it can neither directly toe the Soviet line nor align itself with the CPC, the CPI(M) is posing as if it is neutral. But the fact is that as the leaders of the CPI(M) came out from the old Communist Party due to power conflict and group squabbles (and not because of any difference on fundamentals) they cannot get the Soviet recognition nor are they able to go the Chinese way because despite their apparent militant posture they are out and out revisionist. But it does never mean that those who are blindly copying the Peking line are real revolutionaries. I will come to this question later on. So we find that at present the CPI(M) is pursuing a so-called middle line of 'neutrality' in between the Soviet and the Chinese lines. But what

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## Non-Aligned Conference at Colombo

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Asian states on the ground that "it smacked of justifying the so called national liberation movements."

Some heads of the states in their speeches advanced militant pleas for collective economic and political action against imperialist forces. Some of them, notably Baumedienne of Algeria, Machel of Mozambique etc. cautioned against the danger which would undermine the movement from within. The Indian Prime Minister Shri. Indira Gandhi, reported the Hindu (August 18): "steered clear of the militant pleas of collective political or economic actions by some of the leaders who had spoken earlier and concentrated instead on the basic theme of non-alignment. She also deplored the moves of some of misuse of this forum for the ventilation of bilateral issues instead of settling them through negotiations."

India's initiative and prominence in decision making and policy forming was distinctly marked. The press has noted it. The Economic Times, in its editorial on 19th August noted this fact thus: "At the conference itself things have gone well for India. The plus point that gave satisfaction are worth enumerating. The political as well as economic declarations embody the policies, causes and aspirations, for which this country has always stood. India has been chosen member of the powerful coordinating bureau with overwhelming support from member countries and would thus have a voice in formulating the policies and actions of the non-aligned world from time to time. Many of the concepts sharply formulated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her address have been endorsed and ratified."

Another journal—Economic and Political Weekly comments (Special number—August 1976): "India's reasons for gratification are not confined merely to tactical, procedural gains. No doubt acrimonious bilateral issues were avoided, except for

such ineffective outbursts as those by Bangladesh. But more positive from India's point of view has been the fact that some of its constant policy objectives ever since the first Afro-Asian conference (Bandung 1955) has been more than fully realised. Among these objectives are that there should be no second international gathering exclusively of countries which have freed themselves from imperialism since such a gathering would automatically include China and Pakistan, that there should be no permanent Secretariat of the non-aligned countries, that indeed there should be no attempt to arrive at a clear and specific definition of who, in fact is non aligned, that the present practice of having resolutions adopted by consensus rather than by vote be continued ....

The Second Bandung Scheduled for June 1965 was effectively postponed (and later killed) ... Indian politicians and bureaucrats have every reason to congratulate themselves."

India has a particular reason for satisfaction in the declarations adopted. The political declarations make a mandatory swipe at imperialism in action in the countries yet to be liberated as also at economic and colonial exploitation by the powerful imperialist countries, which Mrs. Gandhi said, was being expressed in the political pressures to undermine and even subvert the independence and sovereignty of the developing countries. But declaration meticulously avoids any mentioning of sharing of natural resources like international water and some other issues.

In the economic declarations, however, powerful plea has made out to the same powerful imperialist countries for drastic curtailment of wasteful expenditure in armaments and stock piling of military hardware, which amounts to about \$ 300 billion for their diversion to more useful

purposes of investment or aid in developing countries.

Now, while powerful imperialist countries are asked to drastically curtail wasteful expenditure on armaments and piling of military hardware, it is seen that some of the non-aligned countries are incurring heavy military expenditure without paying any heed to the abnormally low living standard of the people of these countries. This inconsistency did not, however come to surface at Colombo.

The declarations also has made an appeal for a revision in the unfavourable terms of trade between raw material producing countries and the powerful industrialised countries of the imperialist powers. And Mrs. Gandhi reminded the urgency of keeping unity of the developing countries to that end.

But the declaration showed wisdom or possibly maintained unity by not urging its members to stop spending wasteful expenditures on defence build up or in their commercial dealings amongst themselves. This is relevant because some of the prominent members of these non aligned countries are themselves engaged in exploitation of the scarce raw materials and cheap labour of the less developed countries by the same method as done by the powerful imperialist countries, i.e. by the same means of finance capital. Internally most of these countries are under capitalist system and the people there are no less exploited by the native capitalists. As a matter of fact these countries are themselves trying to emerge as powerful imperialist-capitalist countries. After the second world war the bourgeoisie of the newly independent capitalist countries have been attempting to reconstruct their national capitalist economy and have been trying to come out

from the jack boot of imperialism. But because of the lack of home market owing to extremely low purchasing power of the people and stiff competition from powerful imperialist countries in the external market and also due to the stranglehold of the imperialist powers in the matter of key industries, these newly independent former colonial countries tried to use the socialist camp as lever in snatching concessions from the imperialist powers. But as the bourgeoisie of these newly independent capitalist countries are themselves building up national capitalist economy within their respective countries, they are mortally afraid of the proletarian revolution and so they cannot totally identify themselves with the socialist camp. So the non-aligned policy emerged and its foundation was laid in Bandung in 1955. Since then some of the newly independent countries consolidated their national capitalist economy and ultimately emerged as imperialist country, though weak. These countries are attempting to take advantage of the strong anti-imperialist sentiment of the people under cover of 'progressive' gestures and slogans and are trying to penetrate into and exploit the less-developed countries by means of export of finance capital. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great departed leader of the proletariat and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers, analysed this phenomenon brilliantly as long back as in 1960. He said, "Most of these resurgent nationalist countries of Asia and Africa have since advanced in capitalist development of their national economies. Some of them have already given birth to monopoly finance capital. And naturally, they have already appeared as significant competitors to the traditionally powerful imperialist capitalist countries in the world capitalist market. The growing accentuation of the contradiction between

these resurgent nationalist countries and the powerful imperialist capitalist countries are symptomatic of the stress and strains in their share competition over the share of capitalist market."

"Some of these resurgent nationalist countries are themselves showing growing signs of imperialism and expansionism, in some cases open and latent in other cases, coupled with the intensification of class struggle within these resurgent nationalist countries and fear of revolution of the national bourgeoisie which are drawing them closer politically with ruling circles of the powerful imperialist capitalist countries."

"So the increasing political akinness of the national bourgeoisie of these resurgent nationalist countries to imperialism as such is no indication of their being satellite to foreign imperialist powers, as their growing antagonism with foreign imperialists for economic reasons is no sign of their progressiveness. These two are different expressions of the same complex contradiction between a developing imperialist country and the traditional imperialist countries. (Free-translation from a speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in 1960.)

Comrade Ghosh further pointed out, "..... But we are sorry to note that only the anti-imperialist and anti-war acts and policies of the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries that are objectively helping to maintain world peace are being eulogised and ostentiously displayed and highly commended while no notice is being taken of (i) the fundamental difference between the consistent peaceful policy of the socialist states and the undependable policy of peace pursued by the newly independent capitalist countries, (ii) the increasing tendency of fascistization and appearance of fascist characteristics in diverse form in state structures and administrative set up of these countries, (iii) the

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## COUNTRY RECALLS THE GREAT TEACHINGS OF COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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Wreaths were placed by the representatives of KKMf, UTUC (Lenin Sirani) AIDS O DYO, MSS and other Mass-Organisations. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee also placed wreath on behalf of Central Committee.

This meeting also adopted a resolution expressing its profound grief and heart-felt condolence at the passing away of another giant Communist leader of the International Communist Movement and the architect of the Chinese revolution Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the life-long Comrade-in-arms of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the General Secretary of our Party then rose to speak. He said:

With deepest of shock and sorrow, we pay our love and reverence to the memory of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher, guide and the founder General Secretary of our Party, SUCI. His was a life and character that was built up through conscious, long and tortuous struggles since the very beginning of his historic mission to establish a real working class party on our soil with a handful of revolutionary compatriots. He was a successful inheritor of the uncompromising revolutionary trend of the Indian nationalist movement and as the torch-bearer of the glorious tradition of international communist movement. Comrade Ghosh uniquely blended the two and it was he who gave the ideology of communism a firm footing on our soil. In him, proletarian ethics, morality and culture glaringly found its zenith. Comrade Mukherjee went on to say that it was his teaching that in order to organise revolution in a country, the revolutionaries must know their country thoroughly and must apply the general principles of Marxian science into the concrete conditions of the soil. For, revolution can never be made successful by blindly copying the

experiences of successful revolutionary movements of other countries. It was a gigantic struggle initiated by our great departed leader which is now bearing fruits in the expansion and consolidation of our Party, SUCI, throughout the country. The great revolutionary genius of Comrade Ghosh placed before the toiling masses the correct base political line of Indian proletariat and to lead Indian revolution into fruition, he gave a clarion call to build up political power of the toiling masses in and through effective instruments for people's struggles. Comrade Mukherjee ended his speech with the confidence that the great revolutionary party, among the best of his creations and enriched with his vast treasury of knowledge, his revolutionary thoughts, along with the toiling masses of the country will carry forward the behest of our great departed leader.

In his presidential speech Comrade Asit Bhattacharjee, Secretary of Assam State Committee, while appealing to all present to come forward to grasp, understand and practise the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, expressed his supreme satisfaction that being rich with unfathomable treasure of knowledge bequeathed to us by him, being blessed with model leadership out of the band of professional revolutionaries created by him and above all being armed with the process of struggle covering all aspects of life, introduced by him in the party, the Party of the Indian proletariat will surely be able to translate the cherished dream of our great departed leader.

## PATNA

The memorial meeting at Patna was held in the Cooperative Federation Hall, Patna on 12th of September '76. Comrade N R. Singh, member of the Bihar State Committee presided. Comrade Pritish Chanda was present as the main speaker. Wreaths were placed at the outset by Comrade Hiren Sarkar

on behalf of the Central Committee, Bihar State Committee, 12 District Committees of Bihar and representatives of all the mass organisations also paid their homage in wreaths.

While paying his tribute to the memory of the great departed leader Comrade Pritish Chanda, member of the Central Committee said that the real significance of paying homage to such a giant Communist leader lies in continuous and constant cult of the teachings of his life-long struggles, in its realisation and thereby acquiring higher and still higher revolutionary character in life. The history of the great revolutionary life and struggles of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is the history of emergence of the real working class party in India, i.e. SUCI as because in SUCI all his thoughts and ideas are concretised. Continuing, Comrade Chanda added that the vast treasure of knowledge he built up with truths he acquired from the intense and ceaseless struggles throughout his life till his last breath against all odds, is left for us—the working class of India and of the world as well. In citing various educative sides of the unique character of Comrade Ghosh, he said, his was no exception for boundless love and reverence for his parents. When he was barely in his teens, the moment he could realise his future course of life, he gave up everything personal—family, home, career and what not! In the tears of his parents he could see what is demanded of him. In the tears of his parents, in his pain and agony for his parents and dear ones, he could see the pain and sufferings of millions of oppressed parents of the society. It was his depth of love and emotion for his parents that was turned into his deep and genuine love for the people. Later on Comrade Ghosh would not en say, how the present moribund capitalist society is destroying all human values and whoever

## Red Salute

## Com. Bipadtaran Adhikari

Comrade Kilo Adhikari (Bipadtaran Adhikari), an important Party worker and organiser of KKMf, in Bankura district, died of cancer on 10th October last. Comrade Adhikari, as an important party and K.K.M.F. organiser, had led several movements of poor peasants and agricultural labourers of the district. He was also closely connected with workers' movement in Durgapur Steel Project. At his premature death the party has lost an important organiser.

A large number of poor peasants, agricultural labourers and workers'

procession was taken out with the body of the departed Comrade. In paying respectful homage to the departed Comrade, the red flag was flown at half-mast at the Bankura district office, and Barjora thana office of the party and at the office of the Durgapur Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI, has in a statement, expressed deep sorrow at the untimely demise and offered his homage to the revolutionary life of Comrade Kilo Adhikari.

would want to protect those cherished values must have to wage relentless struggles to replace this decaying society with the proletarian society. It is impossible, today, to maintain and cherish any human values through individual efforts. For, the very fundamental question of emancipation of the individual has been historically linked up inseparably with the question of emancipation of the present capitalist society.

## CUTTACK

Under the auspices of the Orissa State Committee of the Party, a memorial meeting was held at Boxi Bazar Maidan on 7th September '76 last to pay the respectful homage to the memory of our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Dwarika Rath, President of Orissa State Committee of the AIDS O presided over the meeting. Before the meeting started, wreaths on behalf of different District and Local Committees of the party and mass organisations were placed.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, as the main speaker of the meeting in his speech observed that the life of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was the product of a continuous process of struggles.

It was through the tortuous struggle he conducted covering all aspects of life on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideals that he completely identified his 'self' with the interest of class, party and the revolution.

Through its concrete application in the concrete conditions in our soil he elaborated, enriched and elevated Marxism-Leninism. It will be impossible to understand Marxism-Leninism in the present day context unless the extension, elaboration and enrichment of it he made in the post-Lenin period is properly understood. It is therefore necessary, Comrade Dasgupta continued, for building up oneself today as a true revolutionary and leading the revolutionary movements in different countries to a successful culmination, to grasp, realise and practise the teachings of Comrade Ghosh in life. He recalled in his speech that Comrade Ghosh in so many occasions visited Orissa to organise the poor peasants and agricultural workers and once in 1948 he was ex-ermed from the state of Orissa by the government. Continuing he said: Comrade Ghosh was a living link between the heritage of the uncompromising revolutionary trend

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## FAILURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO ESTABLISH DIALECTICAL RELATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

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does this neutrality actually mean for them? In reality, they are trying to build up an independent, national type of Communist Party. Although they are stepping today towards the formation of a national type of Communist Party, being deprived of any international recognition but it does not automatically follow that they will cease to become a national Communist Party if they get international recognition tomorrow. The CPI(M) cannot but aspire after and try hard for international recognition so that it can usurp the very credit and appeal that the International Communist Movement still enjoys in our country. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the CPI(M) is positively and slowly giving itself a nationalist orientation.

However much the CPI may talk of internationalism, both in orientation and make-up, it has long before, degenerated into a national type of party in all respects. CPI(M) too, has, of late, stepped into the same line i.e. to give a national type of orientation to its make-up. CPI(M)'s claim of fight against vested interest and the jotedars notwithstanding, to any honest man or any conscious worker with rudimentary understanding about Marxism-Leninism, if they do not keep their eyes shut and closely observe the soft attitude of the ruling class of our country to this party—quite appreciative words for Jyoti Babu from the bureaucracy, the big business and even from The Guardian, the mouthpiece of the British big-business, Birla's attitude towards the government run by CPI(M) in Kerala, lenient attitude of the big business and bureaucracy and especially the compliments of the Birla's to this party in West Bengal when they are handling the Labour Portfolio as against their stern attitude to the labour ministry of the last U.F. government led by our Party—it will not be difficult to realise what type of Communist Party the CPI(M) is after building up. However, let us come back to our old discussion. If you trace the history of the undivided Communist Party and after the split the history of all the three fractions, you will find that whatever formulations they made, be it on political or economic theories, they have done so always by blindly copying the international leadership. All along, they have tried to interpret the Indian society blindly and mechanically copying, in toto, the formulations made either by the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party or any general line accepted at the international conference. Here I would bring another point which all these parties have failed to grasp completely. When a general line evolves through conflict, exchange and interaction of ideas, opinions and experiences between the communist parties of different countries at an international conference that becomes the fundamental general line in the given international situation. But nowhere and in no country revolution can be organised by copying, in toto, this general line even if it is correct in the given international situation. Because whenever you go to apply this general line in a country certain differences, certain contradictions are sure to crop up depending upon the specific concrete conditions, particular situation and peculiarities of that country. And if you are able to resolve these contradictions correctly, then and then only, you can formulate the particular line of revolution by concretely analysing the particular conditions of that country and that becomes the particular line of that particular revolution. The contradiction between the fundamental general line, even if it has been adopted unanimously and the particular line of revolution of a particular country, though mutually conducive to each other in character, yet there is no doubt that such conflict and contradiction between these two are bound to appear and will appear again and again. Neither the undivided party under the nomenclature "Communist Party" nor any of the present three fractions, has, as in the past, even today been able to grasp the nature of this conflict and contradiction between the general and the particular. To them, abiding by the decisions of the International Communist Leadership means to copy the same, in toto, or to impose this general line after at best making certain addition, alteration or change in the mode of expression, on the particular situation of our country. Whether you analyse the strategy of revolution of the CPI or the CPI(M) or the Naxalites—the CPI's strategy of People's Democratic Revolution via the immediate and intermediate stage of National Democratic Revolution forming National Democratic Front along with the National Bourgeoisie through the process of national democratic movement (which in

reality reflects a bourgeois-democratic trend and nothing else) CPI(M)'s strategy of People's Democratic Revolution straight way, the Naxalite strategy of encircling the towns through creating liberated zones in the countryside on the assumption that the Indian state is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state—you will find all these parties have, in fact, failed to give cognizance to the realities of Indian society by all through blindly copying in toto, the general line adopted at the International Communist Conferences or sittings or the formulations made by the Soviet or Chinese leadership and imposing them on the objective situation of India. So what do we find? We find that the practice of all these parties is to make subjective formulations first with regard to the strategy of revolution and then to cook up such materials as would suit their subjective and fanciful formulations.

They have never tried to acquaint the international leadership with the correct picture and objective condition of India nor did they ever provide the international leadership with their own independent analysis, thus helping them to have a correct appraisal. On the contrary, by giving false picture and exaggerated reports about the Indian situation these parties have always helped the international leadership only to be misled just as the Naxalites are misleading the Peking leadership by providing it with false picture and exaggerated reports about the peasant struggle led by them. This practice of blind obedience to the international leadership has done great harm and positive disservice to the Communist movement in our country on the one hand, while on the other hand time and again, these parties have led the international leadership to come to wrong conclusions about the Indian situation, through such blindness and other failings, which I shall deal later on, they have maligned the nobility and lowered considerably the honour and prestige of such a noble ideology as Communism which was once held in high esteem by the people in our country. They have also tarnished the image of International Communist Leadership which was in the exalted position of admiration and reverence to the exploited masses and intelligentsia of our country. Needless to say that this blindness and sycophancy of these so-called Communist Parties are primarily responsible for the denigration of the International Communist Leadership in the eyes of the people, though we know what they would say whenever we take account of this reality, especially the change of attitude of the intelligentsia. They would say: "Why do you talk of the intelligentsia, they are nothing but petti-bourgeoisie? Does it matter when the workers and peasants still, today, hold the International Communist Leadership in high regard?" I would say: It is true, if the international leaders can be correctly projected the workers and peasants as also the majority of the toiling people in our country would surely respect them. But it is also true that most of our peasants and workers do not know even who was Marx or Engels or Lenin or Stalin and who is Mao Tse-tung. Reality is this that in our country, even today the bulk of the people who are attracted to Communist movement are coming from the intelligentsia, the educated section of the lower middle class of towns and villages. Could we really build up political revolutionary organisation and leadership from among the workers and peasants of our country? Truth is that we are only attempting to build them up. If this be the truth, to talk otherwise is to avoid the main issue. So, if the International Communist Leadership has been lowered from its earlier position of respect in the eyes of the middle class intelligentsia of towns and villages which is a matter of serious concern and anxiety at the present moment then I must say that the onus and responsibility for this lie with these sycophants.

**There can be no revolution without a genuine revolutionary party**

So, after a thorough analysis of the history of the struggles of this party namely "Communist Party of India" from its very birth, its method of conduction and outlook governing all these struggles, its strategy and tactics of revolution formulated on different occasions—its analysis of the fundamental political situation of the country as also the characterisation of the Indian state and above all the ethical-cultural standard reflected by its leaders and cadres in their day-to-day behaviour and outlook in every aspect of life, about which I will come back again for detailed observations, and being fully convinced that notwithstanding its "Communist" signboard, it is no better

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# There can be no Revolution without A Revolutionary Party

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than a petti-bourgeois party, we built up our party Socialist Unity Centre of India as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the Indian proletariat. Because, as Marxists we know that a political party is not a mere conglomeration of some individuals and that in a class-divided society any political party is nothing but the political organisation of this class or the other. In other words, at a particular historical stage of development of production, a political party is the political instrument of a particular class of one of those classes that exist in that given society to fulfil the economic, political, ideological and moral aspirations of that particular class. Hence, to a Marxist a political party means a class-party that grows and develops on a definite class world-outlook and class methodological approach to problems, which, the leaders and cadres of the party may be conscious of or not, but nonetheless this particular class outlook and methodological approach are bound to influence and guide not only the fundamental process of analysis of that party but also its cultural-ethical life including the day-to-day behaviours, habits and practices as also the ethical-cultural standard of the leaders and rank and file of the party in all fields of activities.

In this context, you are to remember one more point and a very important point—there can be one and only one Marxist-Leninist Party, i.e. a genuine revolutionary working class party in a country. There cannot exist more than one revolutionary working class party in a country since even if for various reasons, at two corners of a country two genuine working class parties develop isolatedly, then because of their same outlook, same methodology and same objectives, they will surely, one day unite and form a single party. Formation of a new party on communist ideals despite the existence of a party named communist can only be justified, if on the basis of dialectical reasoning and history, it is proved beyond doubt that this party under the cover of defending the interest of the working class is, in reality, upholding the interest of the bourgeois or the petti-bourgeois class. It goes without saying, therefore, that the eight or nine parties who are claiming themselves as Marxist-Leninists and clamouring as revolutionary working class parties in our country cannot be so all at a time. Naturally, there can be two possibilities—either one or none of them is a genuine communist party. So, if there be any genuine working class party among these, we are to find it out on the basis of correct analysis of the historical materials with the help of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

But if through a scientific analysis it is concluded that no genuine communist party has yet emerged in our country then those who genuinely stand for revolution and want to free themselves, the working class and the country as a whole from the prevailing economic exploitation, political persecution, social injustice and cultural degeneration can have no other option than to come forward and shoulder the historic responsibility, however, arduous, of building up a genuine communist party without which, in this era, no revolutionary struggle can be built up and made victorious nor can the revolution be consolidated and eventually a classless Communist Society ushered in. So, for the emancipation of the oppressed masses of our country, for smashing the exploitative capitalist state machine that stands as a stumbling block to uninterrupted development and progress of our society we need revolution and for that revolution a revolutionary party too. So, however difficult the task might be, due to thousand and one confusions created by the varieties of revolutionary (!) theories of these parties we have to find out the real revolutionary party.

## Correct Method of Judging a Revolutionary Party

Now, what should be our approach to this most complicated question and what should be the yardstick of judging whether a party is a genuine Communist Party or not. Should we be carried by the fiery speeches and revolutionary phrases of these parties? In that case, there will be no way of ascertaining the real working class party because none of us lags behind the other in revolutionary utterances! Lenin has taught us that there can be no revolution without a revolutionary theory and so without a revolutionary theory there cannot be any revolutionary party. But by this revolutionary theory Lenin did not mean just the political programme and policies of a party, but he actually meant a complete epistemological category developed by the central leadership of the party by dialectically co-ordinating the understanding and experiences of different branches of

knowledge and science covering all aspects of life. So to judge a party we will have to first of all, analyse and examine its political theory. We will have to ascertain whether the political theory of the party which it claims to be a revolutionary one is truly revolutionary. That is to say, we are to examine very carefully, if its political theory correctly reflects the objective process of revolution and its complexities which exist in that particular society. Secondly, whether that party has any independent analysis and opinion of its own about international situation and if it has got any, whether it is in conformity with Marxism. Thirdly, along with all these, we are to very carefully examine which class-methodological approach guides this party, in analysing any event, any phenomenon and also formulating its strategy and tactical plan and programme and the method of conducting struggles. Lastly, we are to see which class-culture and what ethical standard the leaders and the rank and file of that party reflect in their mode of life, day-to-day behaviours, habits and practices in all spheres of their activities. We must not forget that if in the mutual relations and behaviours between the leaders and rank and file as also between the party and the masses, dogmatism, blindness, indulgence in and platitude to unreasonable behaviours, the impact of vile bourgeois habits and ethics e.g. ego-centrism, vulgar individualism, lack of discipline in life, double-talks and such other vices are reflected, then we can reasonably conclude that this party is a victim to feudal and bourgeois culture and sense of values. Then it is clear that in judging the class-character of a party not only the political theory of the party has got to be tested in the yardstick of Marxism-Leninism and dialectical-materialism but also the methodological approach, outlook and culture that its leaders and members reflect in their day-to-day behaviours have got to be tested in order to come to a correct conclusion. Because without acquiring the proletarian culture which is much superior to and nobler than the bourgeois humanist culture, one can neither attain the capability to grasp a revolutionary theory properly nor to apply it correctly. Those who are acquainted with the basic method of analysis applied by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, would be able to appreciate our contention. In this connection we should understand one more point very clearly that both bookish knowledge of Marxism-Leninism divorced from practice i.e. having no application in daily life and experience derived merely from mass struggles not correlated with theoretical understanding and which do not therefore, add to the store-house of Marxism-Leninism are nothing but partial knowledge. Every Marxist should know that without co-ordinating theory with practice, dialectically and not mechanically, a complete and comprehensive knowledge of Marxism-Leninism cannot be acquired. So remember that it is only by acquiring higher cultural standard through struggles that one can attain the all-round and comprehensive knowledge of Marxism-Leninism by dialectically co-ordinating these partial knowledges and can develop the power to make critical examination of theories. We are to take into cognizance all these aspects in this complicated task of evaluating the class character of a party. In this context, another important point cannot be lost sight of. We are to critically examine by what process, through what sort of struggle the party has come into being and what is its concept of leadership? Is it the same formal democratic concept that prevails in a bourgeois or petti-bourgeois Party? Or it is the concept of Collective Leadership that develops through the process of democratic centralism which is a fusion of proletarian democracy with centralism? What I mean to say is that a bourgeois revolution is a revolutionary transformation of productive forces and mode of production based on individual ownership over means of production and is after all a revolution to ensure the development of individual and establishment of individual rights. Therefore, even in the model bourgeois democracy, whatever model democratic form it may assume, it is the individual leadership that is bound to operate.

In such a bourgeois-democratic form individual is the central focal point—and naturally whether there is a conscious realisation or not, it is the individual leadership that is bound to operate centring round one or more individuals. For this reason, as in bourgeois democracy individual leadership is established in the name of democracy, its character is nothing but formal. But as the objective of Socialist revolution is to establish social ownership and as it is a revolution to establish collective control over the means of production under the leadership of the proletariat, the concept of leadership in proletarian democracy is bound to be collective. (To be Concluded)

## Non-aligned Conference at Colombo

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developing trend of imperialism and expansionism which in the case of some of these countries is assuming naked form at times and, above all, (iv) of the fact that these newly-independent capitalist countries are going to play more and more the main role as agents of world imperialism-capitalism in the matter of forcible suppression of the growth and development of socialist revolutionary struggle." (War and Peace, Peaceful Co-existence and Peaceful Transition to Socialism—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh 1959)

That the newly independent nationalist countries are also going to play a very significant international role was also foreseen by Comrade Ghosh as far back in 1959-60. It has been pointed out by him that if anybody objects to characterise the nature of contradiction between the newly independent bourgeois nationalist countries with imperialism on one hand and the socialist camp on the other as the fifth contradiction in addition to the four major contradictions, propounded by Lenin, this contradiction must be recognised as a most significant phenomenon, giving equal weight, as if it is a fifth contradiction, the aforesaid four major contradictions governing the present day international politics. Because, the contradiction that has appeared round the emergence of these newly independent resurgent nationalist countries cannot be exactly brought under the same category of the contradiction between imperialism versus national liberation struggle. So, failure to correctly ascertain the real nature and realise the importance of this contradiction in influencing the four major contradictions of the world will tantamount to falling prey to dogmatism while

handling the four major contradictions propounded by Lenin.

The correctness of this teaching of Comrade Ghosh has been demonstrated once again in the attempt of some of the countries of the third world to create an international 'Press Pool' at New Delhi in July last prior to the Colombo Summit. That these countries are going to play significant political and economic role in these countries of Asia and Africa is evident from this event. It is, no doubt, a fact that the international news agencies controlled by the Western imperialist powers do not portray a correct picture of the social, economic and political life of the third world countries. But how is it that some of the countries of the third world feel the necessity of an international 'Press Pool' under the control of the third world countries after so many years of their independence? It is because of the fact that some of these countries are going to play more and more important political and economic role including the investment of finance capital in the less developed countries of Asia and Africa. So with a view to patterning the public opinion of these countries in favour of their newer political and economic role, some of the countries of the non-aligned group feel the impelling necessity of the control of international press.

The analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great departed leader of the proletariat may, to day, sound prophetic, but it is a hard reality that some of the non-aligned countries which expressed militant anti-imperialist fervour at Bandung have been shifting from their initial position with the consolidation of their national capitalist economy and gradually these countries themselves

## Joint Body of Working Committee and General Council of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Meets

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The meeting, in another resolution paid glowing homage to Comrade Mao Tse tung, founder president of People's Republic of China, Chairman of the Communist Party of China and a great leader of international communist movement, who passed away on 9th September, 1976.

As the post of the president fell vacant due to sad and premature demise of the beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the meeting elected Comrade Sudhindra Kr. Pramanik, present General Secretary, the President of the organisation. The meeting further elected Comrade Prithish Chanda to the post of General Secretary of UTUC (Lenin Sarani).

The meeting in a resolution on the recent shocking disaster at Sudamdih Colliery, painfully noted the callous and extreme irresponsible attitude of the authority in providing safety measures in the mine which caused the disaster. The mines authority had gone to the have emerged as imperialists. This phenomenon blunted the anti-imperialist tone of these countries. Herein lies the underlying reason for the difference in approach against imperialism between the non aligned countries in Colombo. If this peculiar phenomenon within the non-aligned movement is not correctly grasped there is likely to be much confusion in the progressive and revolutionary movements of the world. So in order to correctly handle the contradiction between the traditional imperialist countries and the countries of the third world the communists must also take note of the emergence of this new phenomenon which was shown long ago by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great departed leader of the proletariat.

extent of violating various judgements and recommendations regarding safety measures. The resolution demanding immediate judicial probe into the incident and adequate relief and compensations to the families of the victims was unanimously passed.

The meeting was attended by members of the Working Committee and General Council from all over India and reports from the States of Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and West Bengal were placed and considered in the meeting. With regard to the programme of observing "COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH MEMORIAL DAY" from 5th to 12th September all over India by the affiliated unions and the working class under the auspices of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) detailed reports were also placed in the meeting. During the period of last one year the various unions under the State Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) organised the working class and met the onslaught of the capitalist class and vested interests in the form of wide-scale retrenchment, lock-out, lay-off, closure, curtailments of

trade union rights etc. and as also with the demand of bonus in their respective sphere and all along tried to build up united movement with left and democratic trade unions. The attempts of the various state units in building up trade union unity were also discussed.

The meeting considered that it was not possible to hold the over due All India Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in the present situation. The Working Committee and the General Council while in session received the sad news of the premature demise of Comrade Bipad Taran Adhikary, an executive member of Durgapur Steel Co-ordination Committee, affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and state committee member of Krishak O' Khet Majur Federation. The meeting immediately adopted a resolution and expressed deep sense of grief and offered heartfelt condolence to the bereaved members of his family.

Among the members who present took active part in the deliberations includes Comrades Nihar Mukherjee Ashutosh Banerjee, Fatik Ghosh, Gyan Singh Choudhury, Tapas Dutta, B. B. Jena, N. R. Singh, Suresh Dasgupta, B. N. Singh, Hem Chakraborty, K. Mukherjee etc., besides the President and the General Secretary.

## Country Recalls the Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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of the nationalist movement and the proletarian internationalism. He also recalled in this connection to remember with deep respect the correct and scientific evaluation of Sarbasree Gopabandhu Das and Banchhanidhi Mohanty as the two great sons of uncompromising trend of Indian renaissance movement made for the first time in our country by the great revolutionary genius of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist philosopher and thinker of the age.

Finally, Comrade Dasgupta appealed to the people that at the time of our deepest grief, it would be our prime task to continuously study and cult the teachings and thoughts of Comrade Ghosh and the sooner we will be able to propagate his teachings among the masses, the nearer will be the long cherished emancipation of the masses. Thus only through such fulfilment of the behest bequeathed to us by our great leader, teacher and the guide, we will be able to pay our grateful homage to him.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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